COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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When William Pitt became minister of England, the interest of the national debt (paid annually out of the taxes) amounted to something more than nine millions of pounds sterling; and, at the close of his administration, it amounted to more than twenty-five millions of pounds sterling. During his administration, he added five-fold to the assessed taxes; he created the income tax; and, by what is called the land-tax redemption act, he made that tax perpetual, and caused the alienation for ever of a considerable part of the property of the church. It was proved before a committee of the House of Commons, that, upon one occasion, he lent, without legal authority, and without the knowledge of his colleagues in office, forty thousand pounds of the public money, free of interest, to two men, who were at the time, members of the House of Commons. During his administration France became mistress of all the continent of Europe, Russia and Sweden excepted. During the year after he became minister (1785), the money paid, on account of the poor, in England and Wales, amounted to 2,004,238 pounds; and, during the year 1803 (two years before the end of his career), the money, for the same purpose, amounted to 4,267,965 pounds. During his administration, the act of "Habeas Corpus," or personal safety act, was suspended for several years together.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

WESTMINSTER ELECTION.——In another part of this sheet will be found the Report, which was made to the electors of Westminster, on the 23d of May, by the committee, who conducted the election in favour of Sir Francis Burdett. This report is worthy of particular attention, especially as being a faithful and ably written history of the manner, in which, for many years past, the electors of Westminster have been treated by the different factions, into whose hands they were inveigled. This was a view, which I had often wished to see taken of the subject. It has now been done; and how humiliating is the reflection, that, for the last half century, the people of Westminster, so perfectly independent, and so well able to judge as to their own interests, should, until now, have had no more to do in the choosing of their representatives, than they had in choosing the Aumils of Hindostan! Nay, the thing was worse than a nullity; much worse; because the electors were made to put on a shew of exercising their will; to assume the garb of freedom; and even to boast of that freedom and of their franchises, while they were, in fact, the miserable, the degraded, the despicable and the despised, tools of a few individuals, who were contending solely for the precedence in obtaining power, and, through the means of power, plunder. Really, when one looks back to the contests of the Wrays and the Hoods and the Foxes; when one reads the large volume, in which the Devonshires and some other great families make so conspicuous a figure, one is almost ashamed of one's countrymen and one's country. Yet, that which succeeded these contests was, perhaps, still more disgraceful to this the first city in the kingdom. The warring factions, tired of the strife, and wishing to spare their purses, came to a sort of compromise that rendered an election for Westminster much such another affair as an election for Ryegate, or any other double-patroned borough. The Whigs nominated one member, and the minister of the day the other member; and, from these nominations no one ever thought of appealing any more than a soldier thinks of appealing from the word of command. That, from such a state, the people of Westminster should, all at once, have become what they now are is truly surprising. They were very nearly entrapped by Mr. Sheridan's tears over the dead body of Mr. Fox; and, owing to want of time for thinking, they were once more in the hands of the great families, in the person of Lord Percy. But, the dissolution of parliament, which succeeded, came while their shame and remorse were yet alive; and, though, owing to some of the most villainous tricks that ever were played, they did not succeed in seating the man of their choice in the House of Commons, yet, by the spirit which they had previously discovered, Lord Percy was induced to withdraw his pretensions, and, they laid the foundation for certain success at another opportunity, with which the manœuvres of faction soon furnished them. At this last election, though a good deal embarrassed by certain events, upon which it would be useless now to dwell, they acted with promptitude and wisdom. They seemed to have formed a resolution to prove to their former enslavers, that they knew, not only what was their own interest, but also the way to take care of it. The committee appointed to arrange the mode of proceeding were all men of the class of mere electors; there was no great man, or

would be great man, who had any share in the business from the beginning to the end; and, as if to give the lie to the opinion, that, without a head, the people are nothing, all the papers, which proceeded from this committee bore the stamp of talent far superior to that which was discovered on the side of those, who opposed them.—— There is, of late years, at least, no instance to be found of so strict an obedience to the constitution. The people of Westminster proved, that they understood what the constitution really was. It is astonishing, that any one should be found, with impudence sufficient to censure their proceedings; and, they have the consolation to know, that by none but by the cankered corrupt, those proceedings have been censured.——In one thing, however, they have failed. They wished to establish the principle, that *no expence* should fall upon the persons, elected members of parliament. But, the High Bailiff's bill, made against their member, has been ordered to be paid by a decision, in the court of king's bench, and the House of Commons, after having the affair fully represented to them, have *declined to interfere*. This subject was last before them on the 25th of May, when they were informed, that, owing to a decision of the court of king's bench, an execution was in the house of one of their members to compel him to pay for being elected, though he had not been a candidate, and though he had had neither act nor part in carrying on the election. The whigs were as silent as little fishes; but, it was truly admirable to observe how the *lawyers* all agreed in the necessity of abstaining from meddling with what had been settled in "a court of justice."—— "Sir A. Pigott declared himself to be perfectly satisfied this was not a case in which the house could interfere. It was a proceeding in the regular course of justice. If the action in this case could have been entertained at all, it must have been on the ground that it arose out of a *contract*. The act which allowed the expences of erecting hustings, &c. in the case of counties, did not extend to boroughs; yet even there candidates might agree that for their accommodation, or that of their voters during a contest of 14 or 15 days, hustings should be erected, the expence of which could not reasonably be expected to fall on the High Bailiff. The action, therefore, could only be on the *contract so supposed* to be entered into, and could of course have no relation to the election, so as to make it a matter of privilege to be taken up by that house. This must be a question either of fact or of law, and in either case it might have been brought before the court, by demurrer, or by bill of exceptions, so as to have made the ground of it appear on record. It behoved those who had the legal means of defence in their own hands to go before the judge in a regular manner. If they omitted to do so, it was not for that house to interpose. If the house should be of opinion that it would be improper that a candidate should be on any account at the expense of erecting hustings, let it be made the subject of a prospective regulation. But as that was not the case at present, this must be like any other suit founded on a covenant, the effect of which must be construed by the Jury." ——So, here we are to have *another law* (more glorious work for the lawyers!) or, a member of parliament is liable to be made to pay the expences of an election, in which he has, neither directly nor indirectly, taken any part.——But, what did Sir Arthur mean by a "*contract?*" There was no contract, on the part of Sir Francis Burdett; and, his goods and chattels were seized upon a judgment, founded on a presumption that there was a contract, which presumption was supported solely upon the evidence of his having taken his seat.——What had he to do with your "demurrer," or your "*bill of exceptions?*" These argue a *law suit*, and, must a man be scourged with a law-suit, if he refuse to pay a large sum of money for having been elected without his request, and even without his knowledge?——Sir Arthur seems to think nothing of the punishment of a law-suit. All that a man has to do, when he receives the king's command to attend in parliament, is, one would think, to attend and to do his duty there; and, if his house be forcibly entered and his goods seized, in consequence of such attendance, is it not for the house to interfere? Is he, at the suit of any body, to be harrassed with the trouble and expences of law, because he has taken his seat?——Mr. LEYCESTER, (don't you remember him, reader, in the committee about Pitt's loan to Boyd and Benfield?) this gentleman, who is an old acquaintance of ours, said, that the person, "who had been *held* to be the *agent* of Sir Francis, had refused to pay the High Bailiff, and yet this same person, day after day, asked, obtained, and availed himself of the *advantage* of seats for the check-clerks, inspectors, &c. who were to attend to the honourable Baronet's *interests* in the election." This is a mistake, Sir. It was the interests of *the people*, which

those clerks and inspectors had to attend to; and, the plain question is, are the people to be made to pay for giving their votes? Sir Francis Burdett employed no agent; he gave no one authority to act in his name; he was elected without his knowledge; and, must he be made to pay for having taken his seat? And, is it no breach of the privileges of the house, that one of its members is harrassed with an execution merely because he has been elected a member of the house? —— MR. BRAGGE said the house could not entertain the question, because the charge of the judge had not been entered on the record. But, here again, a law-suit, the scourge, the fire and brimstone of a law-suit, is coolly contemplated. Do you mean to say, then, that a man cannot take his seat in the House of Commons, in consequence of the free choice of the people, without exposing himself to what is infinitely worse than being maimed as Sir John Coventry was? It appears to me, that it should be so clearly and so generally understood, that a member of parliament is to pay no money on account of his election, that a suit against him, on such account, would be received in the same way as a suit against him for having black hair. It was the people, who went and demanded to vote for Sir Francis Burdett, and demanded also, that their votes should be registered, in the same books with the votes of others; and, were they, or any of them, for this cause, to be deemed the *agents* of Sir Francis Burdett? ——THE SPEAKER said, "after what had passed, in allusion to him, it was necessary for him to put the honourable baronet right, as to what he had stated on a former night. What he had said was, that, when any *practical inconvenience* did arise, if the honourable baronet continued to think, that it involved a question of privilege, he should, in that event, lose no time in applying to the house. He had no hesitation in saying, that if any judge should recommend to a jury what could be construed into a breach of the privileges of that house, it was the duty of the house to resist, and to guide their course according to circumstances. As there was no motion before the house, he should only suggest two different modes of proceeding, both of which had been adopted in the reign of Charles the Second. One was in the case of Judge Weston, where an impeachment was ordered, and the other, in the same reign, where that measure not being deemed necessary, the matter was allowed to drop without any farther discussion. Those "who thought the present a case of the "most serious nature, would probably be of "opinion, that the former of these was the "preferable mode of proceeding; while "others again might be inclined to think "that the latter was the most desirable way "of disposing of the present question. He "had stated what were the modes of pro-"ceeding, and it was for the house to say, "whether in this case the more or less se-"rious mode ought to be adopted."—"Sir "FRANCIS BURDETT said, the sources from "whence he derived his information as to "the recommendation of the judge, *were* "*the notes of the short hand writer em-*"*ployed to take down the trial, and the in-*"*formation of his counsel.* He esteemed "these as affording him sufficient foundation "for bringing the matter before the house. "The only thing he had submitted to the "house was the instruction of the judge; "*that the circumstance of his taking his seat,* "*a thing which was incumbent on him, was* "*such an approval and ratification of the* "*proceedings had during the election, as* "*must subject him in the expense of the hus-*"*tings.* He felt himself by no means inte-"rested in the fate of this discussion. He "esteemed it to be the cause of the house, "and, if he had taken a bill of exceptions, "or adopted any other mode of setting aside "the verdict than that which he now used, "in submitting the case to the consideration "of the house, he should have conceived "that he subjected himself to a severe cen-"sure for his conduct. He now *left it to* "*the house to determine* as they thought "proper."——Here the matter dropped, and that, too, without one word from the reforming Whigs; except, indeed, from Sir Arthur Pigott, who was decidedly against any interference on the part of the house. So that it is now settled, that a man may be *made to pay* for a part, at least, of the expenses of an election, at which he may have been nominated and chosen without his consent; and even against his will. This is a newly discovered feature in "our glorious constitution." Nay, whether chosen, or not, he may be made to pay, unless *the taking of the seat* be the act which renders him liable. Suppose Sir Francis Burdett had been out-polled by the brewer or by the late Treasurer of the Navy. Why should he not have been made to pay in that case, as well as in this case? For, the hustings and the books would have been as much used by him then, as they have been now; and, this being the case, a little knot of electors have, at any time, the power of half-ruining any man, of little fortune, against whom they

may have a spite. They have nothing to do but to nominate him at Westminster, and demand a poll in his favour, to make him liable to a share of the High Bailiff's charges. Was there ever any thing so monstrous as this heard of before? Is this the constitution of England? Is it this that we are called upon to pay and to bleed for?——Some people say, that it is hard, that the expense should fall upon the High Bailiff; but, those persons are, surely, not informed, that the High Bailiff's is a very lucrative office; that he derives his emoluments out of the pockets of the people of Westminster; and that he *buys* his office, not of those people, but of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster. To take the elections, in the city, is one of the *duties* attached to the High Bailiff's office; it is one of the purposes for which emoluments are given him; and, if he pays so much to the Dean and Chapter as not to leave him a sufficiency to defray the expenses of taking elections, the fault is his, or that of the Dean and Chapter, and by no means that of the people, who have an undoubted right to come and vote for their representatives free of all expense, and free of expense to those representatives also; for, it is evident, that, if the representative be loaded with expense, it must be injurious to the constituent. But, this is the state, into which all is now got. Offices are spoken of as things to produce money; and, accordingly, they are bought and sold. The *duties* are left out of the consideration; or, when required to be performed, are to be paid for, just in the same way as if there were no salary, or income, attached to the office.——All that now remains for the people of Westminster to do, is to resist the claim of the High Bailiff at every election. It would, perhaps, be adviseable for the members chosen to await the regular process for *compelling* them to take their seats; and, after that, to see what the court of king's bench will do. In the meanwhile, it would not be amiss, if the committee for the last election were to ascertain the annual amount of the High Bailiff's emoluments; the several sources from which they are derived; the price which he pays for his office; the uses to which the money is applied; and the original intention of the grant of such emoluments. Such an inquiry will be of great use; it will lead us back to former times and usages, and will enable us to hold up the constitution to the faces of those, who are so vehemently calling upon us to maintain it. This is the way to fight them. "You want us to spend our last shilling, "and to shed our last drop of blood, in "maintaining the constitution, do you? "Well, *here it is*; this is it; and, this "we are ready to maintain against all its "enemies, beginning with those whom we "*know* to have assailed it."——"Aye, you "perverse dogs," say they, "we know "you are; but, that is not what *we* mean. "We want you to spend your last shilling "and to shed your last drop in defending "what we call the constitution; that is to "say, us and our power and our numerous "and immense emoluments."——It is, however, quite useless to write, or to talk much, about these things. We all of us understand one another very well. The resolution, upon both sides, has, long ago, been formed. Time alone can produce any change; but, in the meanwhile, on one side all is fear, and, on the other hope, or, at least, the absence of fear, it being impossible to discover any ground for apprehension.

PITT'S BIRTH DAY.——The 28th of May was, it seems, the day, which gave this man to the world, and it appears from a publication in the Courier news-paper of the 30th, that the anniversary of his birth was celebrated on that day, at the Merchant Taylor's Hall, in the city of London. I have read over the long list of the persons, who are said to have been present, and I do not see the name of one single person, who is not, in himself, or his relations, a receiver of the public money, in one shape or in another; I do not see the name of one single independent gentleman; I do not see the name of any one person, to whom, as a member of parliament, I would give my vote. This was as it should be; and the proceedings, at the dinner, were perfectly in character.——Upon the cloth being removed, a *psalm* was sung, "*Not unto us, "not unto us, O Lord, &c. &c.*" by a set of *hired* singers, in exact imitation of the proceedings of the "diverting vagabonds," who, from the play-houses and the stews, assembled to celebrate the triumph of Mr. Sheridan and Sir Samuel Hood at Westminster, and which triumph, I would have these imitators recollect, was but of very short duration.——Next followed a lying *Ode*, from the editor of a news-paper; a precious specimen of doggerel, but admirably adapted to the subject and to the audience. The composer seemed to be perfectly aware of the motives of the festival, and, therefore, he took care to say, that, "not envy's self "can say this noble train, their rites with "*sordid* ends profane." This was by way of anticipation; but, Mr. QUIN may doggerel his eyes out, before he will get any

man of common sense to believe him. Such men well know the real motives of this meeting; and they know, that they are sordidness itself; they know, that to celebrate the birth-day of Pitt, is to inculcate the praise of a squandering of the people's earnings upon those who do not labour; they know, that this festival was intended, by the mass of those who assisted at it, to brazen out the acts by which they had been enriched at the public expence.——After the "Ode" came forth MR. FITZGERALD with a recitation of some still worse doggerel of his, which has long been kicked about the bookseller's shops, and serving occasionally for a shade to their windows, under the title of "An *independent* tribute to the "memory of Mr. Pitt." This effusion of independence comes from a man, who has, I believe, for many years, been in the Stamp Office, or in some other office, under the minister of the day, and during his pleasure. This gentleman holds the pen of a ready writer. He is always at it. No matter what the subject, so that it be but auspicious to his little interests, and, as the wise Duke said, "scribble, scribble, scribble." Let there be but a dinner toward, and you are sure to hear of this Mr. Fitzgerald and his odes. Two or three years ago, the newspaper people used to let us see his odes; but, of late, they have had the prudence merely to *tell* us about them. The Courier says not a word in praise of this "independent tri-"bute," whence I should suppose, that, in spite of the poet's indefatigable exertions, he is, at last, not very rich, and that he finds, to his severe mortification, that, while he is obliged to give praise upon mere speculation, and upon very long credit, at best, he is unable to obtain it except upon condition of high price and prompt payment. Since I discovered, that authors paid reviewers for suffering them to review their own books, I have ceased to look into the London reviews; but, at the time when I did, this son of doggerel appeared to be in close connection with the reviewers; and, accordingly, accounts of his insignificant performances made, frequently, a great figure in those works, which the dupes about the country look upon as the standard of taste.——What a life this poor man must lead! Continually upon the watch for some occasion of paying his court to those who have the power of adding to his salary. Continually battering his dull brains for some new tag, as a conveyance for his disgusting panegyrick. Of all the slaves on earth the most wretched must surely be a slave in rhyme!——The "independent tribute" being finished, the "*principles of Pitt*" were toasted, with a wish that they might continue to inspire the councils of Great Britain, which was followed by the tune of "*Britons strike home.*" Astonishing impudence! As if the public could fail to know, that it was during his administration, that France became mistress of the continent of Europe, and that England became, what she now is, a country besieged. These very people will tell you, that the situation of the country is such, that your only hope is, to be able to escape being conquered by France. Into this situation we have, it is notorious, been brought during the prevalence of the principles of Pitt; and yet these people have the impudence and insolence to tell the world, that they glory in those principles, and that they wish them still to be acted upon.——Aye, but they do not mean these principles. They mean the principles upon which the people have been loaded with taxes and themselves loaded with wealth. The principles, upon which the enormous grants of money have been made, and upon which the hundreds, who could be named, have been permitted to fatten.——There appears to have been something of a mixture of masquerade at this festival; for, there is a speech given (and which I am now about to insert), under the name of "the Lord "Chancellor," which never could have come from any man, being a real Lord Chancellor of England.——"The LORD "CHANCELLOR, whose feelings were so "strongly affected, that it was with great "difficulty he addressed the company, said, "that he lamented most bitterly the loss, "which the *nation* and *mankind* had sus-"tained in the death of Mr. Pitt, and he "would *offer up his prayers to a gracious* "*Providence* that this loss might be supplied "by raising up some distinguished charac-"ter by the superiority of whose genius and "virtue the *protection of the human race* "might be secured. His poor endeavours "he should constantly exert for the benefit "of his country; *he was happy in the con-*"*fidence of his sovereign*, and he revered "that august prince, because he knew that "he *valued the liberties* of those over whom "he was appointed to reign. He (lord "Eldon) was not only the political friend "of the eminent statesman whose birth-day "they were now celebrating, but he was "the private friend of his heart, and he "could not advert to the deprivation he had "suffered without the most poignant grief. "Happy would it have been for him, *had* "*he himself been the precursor of the asso-*"*ciate of his bosom in the vale of death.* I

" will, (said his lordship), as far as my en-
" deavours can go, live in allegiance, if I
" may so express myself, to the memory of
" that great man; and why will I do so?
" Because by so doing I shall act in the way
" which I conceive to be most consistent
" with the interests, the happiness, and
" *the liberties* of the people of Great Bri-
" tain. In all the experience which I have
" had of the views and conduct of my de-
" ceased and lamented friend, I have ever
" seen that in no moment he neglected the
" good of the state, but always felt the most
" vigilant and jealous anxiety for the well-
" being of *all ranks and conditions of men.*"
——No: I will not, for a moment, suppose, that this was uttered by a Lord Chancellor of England. It must have come from some methodist preacher, dressed up in a big wig and gown. The Courier relates, that "upon the close of this speech, the company *began to retire*;" and, well they might. The benediction was all that was wanted after this prayer for "all ranks and conditions of "men." Associate of his bosom in the vale of death, indeed! What miserable, what disgusting stuff! What wretched humbug! No: the *present* Lord Chancellor would not get drunk; and, I am very sure, that, sober, he never would have thus exposed himself to laughter.——One of the motives, and the principal one, amongst the *instigators* of this festival, doubtless was, the embarrassment and mortification of their political opponents, who have dropped the celebration of the birth-day of *their* hero, chiefly, perhaps, because they are not enough *united* to keep it up. But, why did they not *join* the others? Why not go and sing *Non Nobis Domine* "in a superior style?" Why not go and clap the ode of Mr. Quin, and the "independent tribute" of Mr. Fitzgerald? Why not "offer up their prayers to a gracious Providence," that another Pitt might arise "for the protection of the human race?" Why not all this? They joined these commemorating set in voting away forty thousand pounds of the people's money to pay Pitt's debts, and that, too, upon the score of his public services. Why, then, should they not join in celebrating his birth day. When it had been made clearly appear, that Pitt, without any authority, and without the consent or knowledge of even his colleagues in office, had lent without interest forty thousand pounds of the public money to two men, who had, at that time, seats in the House of Commons, the Whigs, instead of what the people expected, proposed *a bill of indemnity* for him. Why not celebrate his birth-day, then. Why pout and slink away? Why not go on as they were going? From the moment they themselves came into power, they became the eulogists, the open, the avowed, imitators of Pitt, of whom, upon all occasions, they spoke as of a great and virtuous minister. Why skulk, then? Why not brazen a thing out in a birth-day celebration? And, if they could not get their heads in, at Merchant Taylor's Hall, why not have a meeting elsewhere? This faction is the most completely embarrassed and baffled of any one that the country ever saw. Eagerness to grasp at power and pelf made them join with, and truckle to, the Grenvilles. The condition imposed upon them evidently was, that they should praise Pitt, and avow their intention to imitate his conduct as far as possible. This has been to them the abundant source of inconsistencies and disgrace; and it will continue to flow during the remainder of their political lives——At the birth-day dinner, one toast was, "*The Spanish nation, and success to the* "*efforts of its people against the tyranny of* "*Buonaparté.*" So, here we are in love with the Spaniards, after having seized their frigates without a declaration of war, and made two attempts at seizing their territory in South America. "The tyranny of Buonaparté;" aye, and the tyranny of *any body else.* Tyranny is not more tyranny for being exercised by Buonaparté. Our compassion for oppressed people seems to lie dormant always, until those people get into the clutches of Buonaparté. For my part, I can see no difference in being oppressed and robbed by him and in being oppressed and robbed by others. What is it to the Spaniards, if they are to be slaves, whether they be his slaves, or the slaves of the Prince of Peace or of a set of tyrants, raised up amongst themselves? The newspapers have, of late, entertained us with accounts of the ideocy of the king of Spain, of the baseness of the heir apparent, and of the rascality of the ministers, who, by mere dint of impudence and profligacy obtained the power of oppressing the people. What do these birth-day people want, then? Do they want the people of Spain to continue under the old system? Can they conceive any tyranny more galling than that which is exercised by notorious rogues in the name of a slavering ideot? What do they want? Do they want to see a revolution take place, and a new kind of government set up? Hardly; yet, it is difficult to say what else they can want. Napoleon will not fail, I dare say, to keep a pretty tight hand over the Spaniards; but, the question is, *can* the people

of Spain be *more oppressed* than they now are? This is not the question for us, relative to Spain: for, it may suit us for the Spaniards to continue slaves under their present rulers rather than be free (if that were likely to be the case) under Napoleon. But, it *is* the question, and the *only* question, for the *people* of Spain; and, whatever may be the wishes of the birth-day gentry, they may be assured, that, if the people of Spain feel that they *cannot change for the worse*, they will make no resistance against the French. When mere life is all that a man has left to preserve; when the government has proceeded, inch by inch, till he has stripped him to the skin; when bare existence is all that he can call his own, it is too much to expect him to hazard that, to place that in immediate and imminent danger, lest the object of his allegiance should be changed. Being satisfied that nothing worse can come, he will naturally wish for a change; because in any change, be it what it may, the chances are in his favour. This is as plain, and the conclusion as infallible, as that of the result of any question in the rule of three. It *must* be so, and it will be so, in spite of all the toasts and all the psalms and all the prayers of the Pittites and their underlings. ——It appears to me, that there is another, and a very sufficient reason, for a people, who, like the Spaniards, are held in slavery by their domestic tyrants, wishing to exchange that tyranny for the tyranny of a man like Napoleon. Men find an apology to themselves for quietly submitting to the commands of a great conqueror and immense armies. It is evident to all the world, in such a case, that resistance is vain; and, therefore, there is no disgrace in submission. But, to submit to a band of tame intriguing rogues, who, under the names of law and justice, so completely immesh the people as to make one half of them the spies upon, and the plunderers and hangmen of the other half, is an infamy that man cannot bear with any degree of patience. When things are come to this pass, resistance is full as vain here as in the other case; but the fact is not so evident to the world; and the slave cannot make to himself the same apology. Any nation, however numerous, wise, and brave, may be conquered and enslaved by a superior foreign force, and may be well entitled to the compassion and respect of the world; but, a nation which is enslaved by domestic tyrants, which does, in fact, enslave itself, is, and ought to be, an object of universal contempt. It is, therefore, quite natural, that men should be, as we have recently seen them, in so many instances, ready to exchange a domestic for a foreign tyranny, even supposing that they are *sure*, that the latter will be as severe as the former. ——I have often been amused by the earnest exhortations of the Courier and the Morning Post, addressed to the inhabitants of countries about to be invaded by Napoleon, calling upon them, "in the sacred name of *liberty*," to come forth and be chopped down to the last man, rather than suffer their country to be plundered by the French. Alas! poor fellows, if they could have read these disinterested exhortations, they would not have been able to understand one word of them. To talk to them about liberty and property is like talking to the African about frost and snow. If they had known the meaning of the words, their answer would have been: "Why man, we have no liberty to preserve, we are already plundered to the very skin; and we defy the French to plunder any body but those who now plunder us, and who insult us into the bargain." If the Morning Post could have received an answer from some of these people, how foolish its editor would have looked. The people, who were about to be invaded by the French, were full as good judges of their situation and interests as the Morning Post was. They well knew that they *could* not be plundered; or they would have fought to keep out the plunderer. The thing speaks for itself. We all will do much to guard our own possessions. The most cowardly of mankind will scratch and bite those who come to take away their food and raiment; and, therefore, when a populous nation suffers itself to be overrun by a foreign enemy, we may be assured, that the people in general of that nation do not think that that enemy will, or can, do them any harm. There is a sort of intuitive reasoning, which leads people to conclude, that the enemy, be he what he may, will not take away people's food, nor make the land barren. The Morning Post reasons in a different way. It supposes all the world made for the use of England; that, any longer than a country can be of use to England it cannot be considered as any other than base and infamous; and, of course, that, when it is overrun by the French, it is become base and infamous, and may as well be annihilated at once. But, so reason not the people of other countries. They consult their own happiness; and, if they think they shall be happier under the dominion of the French than they now are, though we may regret this opinion of theirs, we can have no right to abuse them for acting upon it. ——One more toast, and then I

shall take my leave of this festival: "*The "present administration, and success to their "measures.*" This toast, the historian tells us, was drunk with enthusiasm, approaching to indications of madness, and the applause, the "tumult" of which it is quite impossible for him to describe, continued for near *a quarter of an hour*; upon which one may exclaim with honest CASCA, "what a deal of foul breath was there "uttered!" It must have been amusing to the ministers (who were almost all present, observe) to see this strife of sycophancy; to see the candidates for sharing in the taxes placing their reliance upon the strength of their lungs; to observe all their various tricks to attract attention, and to catch a promising glance from the dispensers of favour. And, then, if one could have followed them to their several abodes; to have heard them, in their half-drunken moments of bliss; blab out their sanguine expectations; tell of the nod received from one great man, the smile from another, and the squeeze from a third; hold consultation upon the purport of half-uttered phrases; estimate the value of monosyllables and winks of the eye; and then, again, to have seen them, as the fumes of the liquor evaporated, relapse into the doubts and fears that accompanied them to the festival of venality; if one could have witnessed this, then might one have exclaimed, thus, O, Pitt! by such men, and in such a manner, ought the hour of thy birth ever to be commemorated!

Botley, 2d June, 1808.

REPORT MADE TO THE ELECTORS OF WESTMINSTER, ON THE 23D OF MAY, 1808, BY THE COMMITTEE APPOINTED TO CONDUCT THE ELECTION IN FAVOUR OF SIR FRANCIS BURDETT.

That when your Committee had the pleasure of meeting their constituents on the 29th of June, 1807, they were not prepared to make a regular Report of the principles and motives which governed their conduct during the late election; their time had been taken up in exciting the Electors to assert their independence, and in giving effect to the means by which their glorious triumph was to be celebrated.——Your Committee think it necessary to take a rapid survey of the former and present state of the Representation of Westminster; that you may distinctly see, what has been attained by the energy you displayed when acting for yourselves; that you may ascertain what yet remains to be done, and what are the means by which it may be effected.—It will not be necessary to remind this Meeting of the contests carried on in Westminster by the Whig and Tory factions, in the early part of the present reign, much less of those carried on by the Pitts and Dundasses on the one hand, and the Foxites on the other, in the years 1784 and 1788. These last must be in the memory of most of us, and the facts relating to them are, as they have been described by an eloquent and inflexible patriot, "sufficiently notorious, and more than sufficiently infamous." But, it may not be unnecessary to observe, that the enormous expence at which these contests were carried on was too great even for the princes, lords, and placemen of the respective factions. This expence, together with the acknowledged utter impossibility of obtaining any legal decision on the merits of the return, induced the leaders of both Factions, who never coalesce but to deprive the people of their rights, jointly to issue their decree to prevent any thing like a free choice at any future Election in Westminster. The name of one person in each faction was to be inserted in the return, and these men were unblushingly to be called Representatives of the People. —One public-spirited individual was found, however, to offer himself as an instrument in the hands of the people in the year 1790, to destroy the effect of the mandates of their new tyrants. This attempt, though not successful, was not without beneficial consequences; and "more principle was infused into the public mind in seventeen days, than the Factions had been able to destroy in more than seventeen years." The attempt was renewed in 1796, and was countenanced by a far greater number of suffrages. The Factions were more fully exposed, and the people became less inattentive to the fate of their country.——From that period to the death of Mr. Fox, the seats for Westminster continued at the disposal of the Factions; but, it is not to be doubted, that the seeds of public spirit, which were scattered with no sparing hand in 1790 and 1796, have contributed to produce the glorious event which we are now met to celebrate.—The death of Mr. Fox forms an æra in the representation for Westminster. The people had seen with disgust another coalition of men, who "had been long contending for the plunder, the government, and the patronage of the country." They had seen these men unite and seize the reins of government; and they had seen, too, every profession in favour of Reform, or the Rights of the people, sacrificed at the shrine of place, or surrendered to the arbitrary principles of Tory Grenvilles by apostate Whigs.—The leaders of the Factions appeared far more solicitous

to fix a successor to Mr. Fox's vacant place in the cabinet, than to appoint one to fill his seat as representative for Westminster, and the abused, and disgusted electors, became indifferent spectators of the scene. This general apathy gave rise to various professions of service: men of any character, men of no character and of infamous character, talked of offering themselves as candidates. But these political adventurers fled before the heir of the powerful House of Northumberland. Earl Percy became the successor to Fox. But he came not to the contest at the General Election which took place immediately afterwards. At this election the feelings of the electors were excited by the most generous motives. A desire to protect and support the proscribed. A man was presented to them, who with the countenance of the Whig faction, when out of place, had brought serious Charges against a supposed Indian delinquent. These Charges he persevered in: but such perseverance no longer suited the Whigs. They were now in place, and one condition of their being so, appeared to be, that the accused should be screened, not from conviction only, but also from inquiry. That the exertions of the electors were not on that occasion successful, was owing partly to the coalition of the candidates supported by the respective Factions, and partly by the arts of those prostituted Election Intriguers employed by one of them. Fortunately for the country, that parliament had a speedy and sudden death. *The King "appealed to what was called the Sense of His people,"* and nobly, and gloriously did you answer that appeal.—At all the Elections for Westminster which have passed before our eyes, houses have been voted for which were empty, or inhabited by women, or foreigners, or by that description of people who are worse than useless, the bane of every free state, those who, for their own private ends, affect to think their suffrage unnecessary, and those who having too much virtue to vote against their conviction, have not sufficient firmness to do so against their interest.—To remedy these evils a plan is under the consideration of your committee. They are not without hope that these mischiefs may, in a great degree, be parried, if not intirely overthrown. And they have no doubt, that in carrying such a plan into execution, they shall receive that liberal support which has characterized the Electors of Westminster.—You will now perceive what yet remains to be done. You have a foothold, and never forget the proposition of the great Archimedes, that had he a place "to rest upon, he would move the world." You have possessed yourselves of one seat, it was yours: attain the other—it is equally your right. But never relinquish that which you have so honourably recovered. Nobly defend, what you have so bravely won.—The recent events which have taken place in the Court of King's Bench, call upon your Committee to state to you explicitly the Facts relating to that part of the subject; in order that the false impressions which have gone forth, countenanced by high authority, may not continue on your minds or that of the public. And to this part of the report, your committee request your particular attention. —In consequence of the Resolutions passed at this house the 4th of May, 1807, one of which declares, "*That it would be to the "immortal honour of the City of Westminster, and afford a great and glorious example to the Electors of the United "Kingdom, that you should return Sir "Francis Burdett to Parliament, free from "every sacrifice and expense to himself, "upon independent principles, consonant to "the genuine spirit of the constitution of "England, which declares that "elections "" shall be free and without corruption.*" ——Your committee determined, as one mean to reduce the expense, to put the legality of the claims of the high bailiff to the test. For this purpose, they announced to him on the night before the commencement of the election, that some electors intended to offer their votes to Sir F. Burdett. The high bailiff then demanded that they should enter into an engagement to pay the expences he usually charged. This was peremptorily refused. He then said "he would not receive the poll:" but, on a little reflection, added, "Do not take this for a definitive answer, let it stand over till the morning." In the morning he found he must take the poll, and he agreed to do so, "reserving his rights." Whatever his rights might be your committee were willing should be reserved, but they were determined not to sacrifice yours by entering into his terms. They then desired that check clerks, &c. might be admitted to the hustings; which he refused, unless the agreement were signed. Your committee replied, "that if he granted such admissions to candidates who agreed to pay his charges, and refused them to you who resisted his illegal demand, he would be guilty of gross partiality in the execution of his office, which would subject him to deprivation and imprisonment. Under the terrors of Newgate, then, he gave those admissions which the lord chief justice has called a favour accepted by your committee, and which he said

implied a consent to pay a proportion of the expense for erecting the hustings. The high bailiff did, indeed, observe, "that he knew Sir Francis Burdett to be a man of honour, and that he was sure he would pay him." To this it was replied, "that Sir F. B. was ignorant of his intended nomination: that he knew nothing of the Committee, that he had nothing to do with them, nor they with him, and that the high bailiff might depend upon it, Sir F. B. would not pay him one farthing." And this is the reply which it has been contended proves the speaker to be the agent of Sir F. B. And, if he was not the agent, then, it is said, this protest is nugatory and useless; and it is still more absurdly contended, that Sir F. B. became a candidate eight months after he had been elected and returned. And, by what act think you? Why, by taking his seat in that house to which you had sent him as your servant, against his own inclination repeatedly expressed, and to attend his duty in which he might have been forcibly carried by the serjeant at arms. For this act, a verdict has under the direction of the judge in an action brought by the high bailiff, been given against Sir F. B. for a proportion of the charge for erecting hustings, and of another charge imposed by law specifically on candidates only.—That Sir F. B. was not a candidate *express* or *implied*, has been abundantly shewn by what has been stated, by his own declarations, and by the Addresses and Resolutions of your committee, before and since, and during the election.——Your committee conceived, that they had taken every possible precaution to avoid implicating Sir F. B. in any of their acts, by not having the slightest communication with him directly or indirectly, and, it therefore, never occurred to them, that any action would be brought against him on that account. Sir F. B. too, with that delicacy which belongs to his character, did not, as it was in a great measure a pecuniary subject, announce the commencement of the action to your committee; and your committee had not a proper opportunity of giving that assistance which otherwise might have been done, as to the facts of the case on the trial. You are acquainted with the result.—Though your committee had much reason to be satisfied, that the unfounded claims of the high bailiff, —claims so injurious to the fair freedom of election,—had been very materially reduced; yet they were greatly disappointed that the important principle for which they had been contending had not been decided; and they, therefore, requested Sir F. B. to move for a new trial,—which has been refused by the court.——It has now become the imperious duty of your Committee, to carry into full and complete effect the Resolutions of the 4th of May, and their repeated declarations during the election, that it should be conducted free of every expense to Sir F. B — And, let the final issue be what it may, your committee will not suffer Sir F. B. to spend one shilling of his own money in the discharge of his duty to you and to our country. —Your committee now present you with an Account of the Expences they have incurred, and the Subscriptions intrust d to their hands: assuring you, that every thing has been conducted on their part with the most rigid economy.

Amount of expenses during the election	£780	14	4
Amount of the chairing, procession, and presenting the car, &c. to Sir F. B.....	515	8	2
Advertisements and printing to this day.....	83	5	0
Incidental and law expenses in moving for a new trial....	30	3	6
	£1409	11	0
By subscriptions	1260	13	0
Pamphlets sold.....	31	4	9
	1291	17	9
Balance against the treasurer.	£117	13	3

Not including the yet unascertained expense of the action with the high bailiff.—Your Committee have great satisfaction in observing, that the conduct adopted by the Electors of Westminster, has excited the attention of the country, and afford the best hopes, that, on a future occasion, it will be imitated by the electors in other parts of the kingdom.—You have attacked corruption in its strong hold; you have reduced and possessed yourselves of one of the principal fortresses of the enemy. Upon the first occasion you will again take the field:—if you again conquer—if the people of this country follow up the example you have set them, and they should fortunately succeed—they will confound the treasons of your domestic enemies, and England will bid defiance to any foreign foe; although he may have attained the dominion of all the earth besides. —(Signed) By order of the Committee.—SAMUEL BROOKS, Chairman.—*London, May 23, 1808.*

CURATES' BILL.

SIR,——The open attacks of the rectors

against their curates, is manifested in Berkshire, and the sneaking attempts of those in Suffolk and Norfolk, without daring to give their signatures to advertisements, issued after many *private* calls and underhand manœuvres, demand from every man of honour and candour, a manly and decisive notice.—Those who are not of the clergy at all, are now called upon to manifest their sentiments. Has the *state* no interest in the disposition of clerical property? Is the patronage of men who hold property in various counties to be bartered by connivance, and the state to be forbidden from every inquiry and every protection of the ministry? Then let the establishment fall, as fall it must if unaided by the wisdom of parliament. Clerical proprietors of tithes *may wish* to legislate for their curates; but, surely, a little modesty will induce them to submit to legislators in parliament, and not advertise for meetings and petitions against the Stipendiary Curates' Bill, lest the principal *laymen* should counteract their advertisements, by offering their disinterested greatness, to shelter the unprotected and unenvied curates, and by calling them together by advertisement, make inquiry into the decimal arithmetic whereby their salaries are adjusted. A conversation last week upon the increase of servants' wages, excited from a rector this odd reply, "Port wine is now an hundred pounds per pipe, and I have been forced to advance my first footman to thirty-five pounds per annum rather than part with him;" when this same rector told his curate a few days before, that he must agree at twenty-five pounds per annum, and *no fees*, (and preach every Sunday!!!)—The salary of the curates wants to be as unequivocally known to parliament, as the salary of its navy or army subalterns, and no objection arises to a clerical annual list, beyond what may be objected to a navy or army list.—(The bookseller would be well paid, and their names and addresses may be easily obtained, as every archdeacon, as well as every bishop, has a copy of the return in his own department.) The seven ill favoured and lean fleshed kine, as some rectors fear, would devour the seven well-favoured and fat-fleshed; and themselves be obliged to diminish the wages of the pampered menial, at whose insulting hands the curate receives his £25, with a remark upon *his* own better pay!—With an *appearance of fairness*, it is advanced, that a small living can only afford a small stipend to a curate. *True!* if the incumbent be not a pluralist, and depend upon his small preferment only, for his comforts. But in many cases the small living is (only) held to pay the keep of an extra horse or servant, or for local convenience; and then, surely, all consideration is due to the officiating minister, and the size of the preferment is not then the *only* proper standard for the stipend of the curate. The question ought not to be between rectors and curates any longer. It is a question between the *state* and the *clergy*. There is an establishment of which kings and queens are the nursing fathers and the nursing mothers. Curates are the efficient troops. Parsonage houses are their proper barracks. Whatever the state judges to be serviceable to the cause must and ought to be adopted. Nothing can be more contemptible than the pitiful and avaricious attempt to cry down the proceedings of government, by an association of either rectors or curates against the wisdom of the legislature. The curates of some parishes have not had a guinea from their rectors these many years, and have lived upon the scrapings of low fees, 'till they grind the poor to maintain themselves. These things ought not to be. The glorying of such rectors over their curates is not good, though they should be enabled to *dun* with their appeal the ears of the upper house, who may not consider that every parishioner upon their estates is interested in the fate of the bill, inasmuch as the needy curate is an object of compassion and benevolence to the congregation in which he preaches.—Yours, &c.—C. D.—*May* 27, 1808.

SECOND REPORT FROM THE COMMITTEE ON THE DISTILLATION OF SUGAR AND MOLASSES.—*Ordered to be printed* 31*st May*, 1808.

The committee appointed to enquire, and report, how far, and under what circumstances, it may be practicable and expedient to confine the distilleries of the United Kingdom to the use of Sugar and Molasses only; and also what other provision can be made for the relief of the growers of sugar in the British West India Colonies; and to report the same, with their observations and opinion thereupon, from time to time, to the House:—and who were empowered to report the minutes of the evidence taken before them;

Have, pursuant to the order of the house, further examined the matters to them referred; and have come to the following Report. Your committee after having presented their First Report, lost no time in prosecuting the enquiries pointed out to them, in the order by which they were constituted; conceiving that if by legislative

encouragement an increased consumption of rum could be created, material relief would be afforded to the planter, enabling him to diminish the quantity of the inferior sugars now imported, by converting a portion of them into that spirit, their first attention was directed to the most eligible means of accomplishing this object ——Understanding that an extensive trade in foreign spirits is carried on under the protection of licences from the privy council, and of neutral flags, and that thereby a great encouragement is given to a staple commodity of the enemy, while a proportionate discouragement is thrown in the way of the consumption of West India rum, your committee called before them several persons concerned in the continental trade, with a view to ascertain the fact, and to learn the manner in which the traffic is carried on; and also two gentlemen connected with the boards of customs and excise, fully capable of informing them, whether any loss would accrue to the revenue by prohibiting or discouraging the importation of foreign spirits in future; and how that loss might be compensated, should any such be expected to arise —It appears, that foreign brandy and Geneva are among the enumerated articles, the importation of which is permitted by the general war order of the king in council. The expenses of freight and insurance however are too heavy, and the risk of seizure by our cruizers, and condemnation in our prize courts, is too great to allow the trade to be carried on with any prospect of advantage under the authority of such a general order. The merchants of this country therefore apply to the privy council for particular licences; which being granted, neutral vessels are chartered, by which under these licences a trade is securely carried on, which otherwise would not exist. The ships proceed in ballast for the hostile port, taking with them neither British manufactures nor colonial produce, which would render them liable to confiscation. They bring back foreign spirits, wine, and fruit, but neither raw silk, nor any other article useful to the British manufacturer. Those cargoes are chiefly paid for by bills of exchange. As this trade affords great encouragement to one of the chief staples of the enemy, without promoting in the smallest degree the welfare of the shipping, manufacturing, or colonial interests of this country, it is evidently the policy, as we are led to believe it is the practice of the French government, to connive at its continuance, and to protect it. The sound policy of this country would seem to require the prohibition or discouragement of a trade, in which the advantage is reaped by the enemy; particularly as by so doing the produce of our own colonies, and spirits the manufacture of our own country, would replace those so withdrawn from the market.—It appears that the quantity of foreign spirits for which duty was paid in the last year, was 2,101,187 gallons, and that the gross amount of the duty was £1,336,973. The duty of customs and excise per gallon, on foreign spirits, is 16s. 1½d.; on rum, 11s. 2½d. and the excise duty on British spirits, exclusive of the malt duty, is 7s. 2¾d. It would seem that a bare substitution of a consumption of the same quantity of spirits at a lower duty, would occasion a certain loss to the revenue. Mr. Jackson calculates that loss at £786,000 per annum; and presuming only on a bare substitution of quantity, thinks, that in order to prevent any deficit, and at the same time to preserve the present difference between the duties on rum and British spirits, an addition of 2s. 8d. per gallon on each of these articles would be required. But such additional duty, in the opinion of your committee, could not be imposed without considerable danger of permanently diminishing the consumption of those articles.—As the flavour of foreign geneva is well imitated in this country, and as brandy can be made strongly resembling the foreign spirit, it is impossible to believe that rum alone would be substituted in the room of any quantity of those spirits, which the recommendation of this report might withdraw from the market. Should the consumption of rum however be increased by the amount of one-third of the foreign spirits which paid duty last year, that increase would rise to 700,000 gallons. The advantage gained by the West Indian interest would not stop here; as a demand for an additional quantity of British brandy would create a market for a proportionate quantity of sugar and molasses, those being the materials from which the best imitation of foreign brandy can be produced. It is proper to mention, that the present embargo in the ports of the United States will throw a large quantity of rum on the market of the mother country, which affords an additional inducement to your committee to recommend any measure likely to increase the home consumption of that spirit.—The re-exportation from this country of the brandy brought in on licence, is not considerable; the North of Europe being chiefly supplied by the prize spirits. No duty is retained on the re-export to Europe except the war duty of 12 and ½ per cent. on the customs, or about 1 ⅝ per gallon; to which the act enforcing the late

orders in council has added a duty of 8d. per gallon. In some instances it may be exported duty free. This trade has enjoyed these advantages only since the introduction of the warehousing system; as, before that period, rum alone could be exported without duty; the consequence is, that rum must have lost what the other spirit gained in the export trade.——The most obvious mode of preventing the importation and use of foreign spirits, would be by a law of direct prohibition. Mr. Frewin states, that the difficulty of preventing smuggling would not be rendered greater than at present, even by a total prohibition of the trade; and Mr. Jackson thinks that the contraband trade might be more effectually checked under a change of system, than by adhering to the present mode of granting licences and imposing high duties. But in case it should be deemed more expedient to adopt the mode of laying on a high additional duty, the revenue might receive its compensation for the diminished consumption of foreign spirits, in part by the increased consumption of British made or colonial spirits, which at a lower price would more than replace the quantity of that diminished importation, and in part by the increased amount of the duty on that reduced quantity of foreign spirits, which would even under these circumstances continue to be consumed. Actuated by these considerations, your committee recommend, either that the importation and use of foreign spirits should be prohibited during the war, or that the duties of customs and excise on all such spirits imported should be greatly increased; and in the latter case, they also submit that it would be highly expedient to lay a heavy duty on their re-exportation to any part of the world.——Your committee conceiving that the greatest encouragement which could be given to the consumption of rum, would be to equalize the duties on that article and British spirits, examined several witnesses with a view to ascertain the probable effects of such a measure. The evidence shews, that very great relief would thus be afforded to the planter; but it is objected, on the part of the distillers, that they could not stand the competition, and that material injury, if not entire ruin to their trade, would be the consequence. If so, permanent injury would also be done to the market for grain, which is now afforded by the distilleries. Your committee therefore refrain from recommending the equalization of the duties on rum and British spirits, to the consideration of the house.—Your committee are proceeding in the examination of other matters, which they conceive to be included in the order of the house, and hope to be enabled shortly to lay a third report on your table. They are induced to present this report separately, not only because it relates to a separate and distinct object, but also, that no time may be lost in acting upon the recommendation contained in it.

NEW ANNUITY PLAN.

The following are the Resolutions moved by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, on the 13th of May last, when he opened his Plan for granting Annuities:—

1. That it would tend to a more speedy and efficient reduction of the national debt, and would at the same time be of material accommodation and convenience to the public, if every proprietor of three per cent. consolidated or reduced bank annuities were at liberty to exchange, with the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt, such bank annuities for a life annuity during the continuance of a single life, to be named by such proprietor; or for a life annuity during the continuance of the lives of two persons to be named by such proprietor, and of the life of the longer liver of such two nominees.—2. That, in order to give effect to the aforegoing resolution, every proprietor of 3 per cent. consolidated or reduced bank annuities, who shall be desirous of exchanging any such bank annuities for a life annuity on the continuance of a single life, shall, on transferring to the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt any such bank annuities, be entitled, during the continuance of his or her life, or of the life of some other person to be named by him or her, to receive (under such regulations as Parliament may deem it expedient to adopt) for every £100 of such bank annuities, and so in proportion for any greater sum than £100 of such annuities, transferred to the said commissioners, a life annuity of such annual amount, according to the age of the nominee, and the average price of such bank annuities on the nearest open day preceding the day of the transfer thereof, as is specified in the following table. [This table is printing.]—3. That, in order to give further effect to the aforegoing resolution, every proprietor of £3 per cent. consolidated or reduced bank annuities, who shall be desirous of exchanging any such bank annuities for a life annuity in the continuance of the lives of two persons, to be named by such proprietor (of whom such proprietor may be one) and the life of the longer liver of them, shall on transferring to the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt any such bank annuities, be

entitled, during the continuance of such two lives, and of the life of the longer liver of them, to receive (under such regulations as parliament may deem it expedient to adopt) for every £100 of such bank annuities, and so in proportion for any greater sum than £100 of such annuities, transferred to the said commissioners, a life annuity of such annual amount, according to the respective ages of such two nominees and the average price of such bank annuities on the nearest open day preceding the day of the transfer thereof, as is specified in the following tables.—[These tables are printing.]—4. That no person shall be admitted to be a nominee, either for the grant of an annuity for the continuance of a single life, or for the grant of an annuity for the continuance of two lives and of the longer liver of them, who shall be under the age of thirty-five years.—5. That the dividends payable in respect of the bank annuities, which shall be transferred to the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt, in exchange for life annuities, shall be received by the said commissioners, and shall constitute a part of the funds applicable to the reduction of the national debt; and that out of the said funds applicable to the reduction of the national debt, the said commissioners shall pay the respective life annuities granted in exchange for such bank annuities during the continuance of the respective lives for which the same shall be payable; and that the said respective life annuities shall be payable half yearly at the bank of England, on the same days on which the dividends on the stock transferred for the purchase thereof, may be payable in every year; and the first payment of every annuity shall commence on the same day on which the first dividend on the bank annuities so transferred shall be payable to the said commissioners; and that upon the death of any single nominee, or of the survivor of any two joint nominees, a sum equal to one-fourth part of the annuity dependant upon his or her life shall be paid to the persons entitled to such annuity, or his or her executors or administrators, as the case may be, provided the same shall be claimed within two years after the death of such single or surviving nominee; and that the annual sum payable for every such life annuity so ceasing as aforesaid, shall thenceforth revert to and constitute part of the funds applicable to the reduction of the national debt.—6. That for the purpose of ascertaining the effect of the measure proposed in the aforegoing resolutions, with reference to the redemption of the public debt, a separate account shall be kept half yearly, by the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt of all bank annuities which shall have been transferred to them for the purchase of any life annuities, and of the dividends receivable by them in respect thereof, up to the period of such account; distinguishing therein so much of the said bank annuities as shall have been transferred in the course of the next immediately preceding half-year.—Also, a half yearly account of the amount of all the life annuities granted by them up to the period of such account, distinguishing therein the amount of the life annuities which shall have been granted in the course of the next immediately preceding half-year; and also of the amount of all the annual sums which, up to the period of the said account, shall by reason of the deaths of nominees have reverted to the funds applicable to the reduction of the national debt, distinguishing therein the amount of such annual sums as shall have so reverted in the course of the next immediately preceding half-year, together with an account of the amount of life annuities then payable; and that in every such account shall be specified the excess in the whole amount of all the life annuities then before granted above the amount of the dividends receivable in respect of all the bank annuities then before transferred for the purchase of life annuities; and also the excess (if any) in the amount of the life annuities then payable above the amount of such dividends.—And that a separate account shall also be kept half yearly of the capital stock, which, up to the period of such account, shall have been redeemed by the application of the annual sums which shall from time to time have so reverted to the said funds by reason of the death of nominees, and by the application of the accumulated dividends of the capital stock redeemed thereby.—Also, an account of the whole amount of £3 per cent capital stock, which, up to the period of such account would have been redeemed by the excesses in the amount of the life annuities from time to time payable by the said commissioners above the amount of the dividends from time to time receivable by them, in respect to the Bank annuities transferred for the purchase of such life annuities, in case such excesses had been intermediately applied in the redemption of £3 per cent stock in the manner prescribed by the laws now in force for the reduction of the national debt.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

SWEDEN.—*The King of Sweden's Proclamation, touching the Levy-en-masse, dated Stockholm, 14th of March,* 1808.

We, Gustavus Adolphus, make known, that as the eastern frontiers of the kingdom are already attacked by the enemy, and those in the west and north are likewise threatened, we feel ourselves called upon to make the utmost exertions for the defence of our invaded country. For this purpose, and in order that we may be able to raise a sufficient force to attack the enemy, it is our will that all young men from 18 to 25 years, both inclusive, of whatever rank or condition they may be, who have not enlisted in the regular army of militia, or navy, shall hold themselves in readiness to take up arms for the defence of our native land, and assemble at such places as shall be pointed out to them at a moment's notice.

REVOLUTION IN SPAIN. — *From the French official paper the Moniteur.* The article wherein the Moniteur announces this important intelligence, is dated Bayonne, May 11, 1808, and is as follows:—

"By a treaty concluded between the emperor Napoleon and king Charles, and which has been acceded to by the prince of the Asturias, and the infants don Carlos, don Francisco, and don Antonio, who compose the whole of the members of the house of Spain, all the existing differences have been adjusted. We are still ignorant of the conditions of the treaty. According to the constitution of our government, it cannot be made public till it has been communicated to the senate. But we perceive by the proclamation of the king of Spain, and that of the prince of Asturias, that the emperor Napoleon is clothed with all the rights of the house of Spain. King Charles, queen Louisa Maria, queen Maria Louisa, and the infant don Francisco, dine to-day with the emperor, and set off to-morrow for Bourdeaux. They will make this journey in four days, and will repair to Fontainbleau, whence they will go to Compiegne. It is believed that this residence has been destined by his majesty to king Charles, that he may spend the remainder of his days there. The prince of Asturias, the infant don Carlos, and the infant don Antonio, spent the evening yesterday with their majesties the emperor and empress. They will spend two days at Bourdeaux, and will afterwards proceed to Valency, whence it is probable they will go to Navarre. It is believed that his majesty has ceded to them that superb domain, and the forest appertaining to it.— It is said that many Spaniards of distinction are on the road to Bayonne, where, it appears that the emperor is about to hold a general junta. It is presumed, that he will be occupied, not only in regulating the succession to the throne, but also in fixing certain ameliorations which all good Spaniards call for. Every thing is entirely tranquil in Spain. Things are on the best footing there."

To the above article were joined, a mandate from king Charles to the junta of the government, announcing the nomination of the grand duke of Berg, lieut. gen. of the kingdom, and a proclamation addressed to the Spaniards, both dated on the 4th of May; a proclamation of the 5th of May, from the junta to the inhabitants of Madrid; a circular (proclamation) sent on the 6th by the inquisition to all the tribunals of the kingdom; and, finally, a letter from the king to the supreme council of Castile, and to the council of the inquisition. The first three of these pieces are to the tenor following:—

To the Supreme Junta of the Government. —Having judged it expedient to give the same direction to all the forces of our kingdom, in order to maintain security of property and public tranquillity against enemies, as well exterior as interior, we have thought it fit to nominate our cousin, the grand duke of Berg, lieutenant-general of the kingdom, who, at the same time, commands the troops of our ally, the emperor of the French. We command the council of Castile, and the captains-general and governors of our provinces, to obey his orders. In the same quality he shall preside over the junta of the government. Given at Bayonne, at the imperial palace, stiled the palace of the government, May 4, 1808. (Signed) I, THE KING.

Proclamation. — Spaniards! My beloved subjects, perfidious men seek to mislead you. They would put arms into your hands against the French troops; they seek alike to arm you against the French, and the French against you. The sacking of all Spain, calamities of every kind, would be the result. The spirit of faction, the sad effects of which I have already felt, is still in motion. In the midst of these important and critical circumstances, I am occupied in concerting with my ally, the emperor of the French, all that concerns your welfare. Beware of listening to the enemies of it. All those, who speak to you against France, thirst for your blood; they are either the enemies of your nation, or agents of England, who are busily avail-

ing themselves of circumstances, and whose intrigues would involve the loss of your colonies, the separation of your provinces, or a series of years of trouble and calamity for your country.—Spaniards! trust to my experience, and obey that authority which I hold from God and my fathers; follow my example, and think that in the position in which you stand, there is no prosperity and safety for Spaniards, but in the friendship of the great emperor, our ally. Given at Bayonne, from the imperial palace, stiled palace of the government, May 4, I, THE KING.

The Supreme Junta to the Inhabitants of Madrid.—Inhabitants of Madrid, your tranquillity will be from henceforth unalterable. You will owe it to the loyalty of your own character; but it will be still more assured to you by the confidence, which is inspired by the laws, and by the prudence of zealous magistrates, to whom their execution is committed. It is in this conviction that the supreme junta of government proclaims, that in obedience to the dictate of humanity, the allied army has suppressed the military commission, established only for one day, as a necessary, though severe measure, which would not have been established, but for the perverseness of some individuals; that from henceforth every inhabitant, whatsoever may be his rank, who shall have given cause for being seized by the French troops, provided he has not borne arms against them, shall be immediately given over to his proper judges, and tried by them. And even in the only excepted case, viz. that of having borne arms against the French troops, a judge nominated by the competent tribunal of the nation shall always assist in regulating the whole of the process against the accused, till the sentence is pronounced. No countryman domiciliated in the town, or stranger shall be molested on account of the peculiarity of his dress; and still less the ecclesiastics. The carriers employed in bringing provisions to the town, shall henceforward be subject to no vexation, or detention of their carriages or mules. Every individual who shall have just complaints to make, on addressing himself to the judge of police, may rest assured, that he will, on the same day, obtain full justice and reparation, for whatever damage he may have sustained.—As to the muleteers, who are likewise employed in bringing provisions to town, and who generally stay there a few days, only one half of their cattle shall in future be put in requisition, even under the most urgent necessity, and in no case shall they be detained longer than three or four days, for which they shall be paid at the prices already given out. Orders shall be given at those gates of the town, where carriers have suffered arbitrary detentions, in order to be searched and stripped of their arms, that this abuse be in future prevented. But it is also necessary to repeat the order against introducing fire-arms, or other prohibited weapons into the city; they ought always to be deposited at the gate. Given at the palace, by order of the supreme junta of government, May 5, 1808. The Comte CASA VALENCIA, secretary.

ROME.—*Circular Letter addressed by the Pope, through his Secretary of State. Dated April,* 1808.

His holiness, our master, has commanded his secretary of state, cardinal Doria Pamsili, to make known to your eminence, that his heart has been penetrated with the most poignant grief, on being informed of the order given by the French general to so many members of the sacred college, to quit Rome within three days. His holiness, who clearly sees that this measure tends to overthrow the empire of the church, since those members are removed from his person who are necessary to the direction of his affairs, and at last his minister, his vicar, cannot in conscience permit this departure. He prohibits, therefore, every one upon his oath of obedience to remove from Rome, unless absolutely compelled by force, and his holiness foreseeing this case, that after having torn your eminence from his bosom, you might be left at a certain distance from Rome, is of opinion that you should not continue your journey, unless compulsion should be used, to the place designated to you, in order that it may be a matter of public notoriety that your removal from the head of the church has not been voluntarily, but from compulsion. The virtues of all the individuals who have received the order to depart, alone support the afflicted soul of his holiness, and are a pledge to him, that, according to his example, they will support these persecutions with patience, and that the sentiments of the sacred college far from being weakened, will be strengthened.

(Though this piece had been sent to the Cardinals before their departure, it did not prevent some of them from going voluntarily to the places pointed out to them)

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